

A
MANIFESTO

OF THE
LORD PROTECTOR
OF THE
Commonwealth of *England, Scotland,
Ireland, &c.*

Published by Consent and Advice of his
Council.

Wherein is shewn the Reasonableness of the
Cause of this Republic against the Depre-
dations of the *Spaniards*.

Written in *Latin* by JOHN MILTON, and first
printed in 1655, now translated into *English*.

*Whence is it that the proud Iberian, thus,
In their own well-asserted Element,
Dares rouse to Wrath the MASTERS OF THE MAIN?
Who told him, that the big incumbent War
Would not, e'er this, have roll'd his trembling Ports,
In smoaky Ruin? ———* BRITANNIA.

THE SECOND EDITION.

To which is added,
Britannia, a Poem; by Mr. Thomson: first
published in 1727.

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A MANIFESTO, shewing the Justice of the Cause of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. against the Spaniards.

THAT the Motives whereby we have been lately induced to make an Attack upon certain Islands in the *West-Indies*, which have been now for some time in the hands of the *Spaniards*, are exceeding just and reasonable, every one will easily see, who considers in what a hostile Manner that King and his Subjects have all along, in those parts of *America*, treated the *English* Nation ; which Behaviour of theirs, as it was very unjust at the beginning, so ever since, with the same Injustice they have persevered in it, in a direct Contrariety to the Common Law of Nations, and to particular Articles of Alliance made betwixt the two Kingdoms.

It must indeed be acknowledged, the *English* for some Years past, have either patiently borne with these Injuries, or only defended themselves ; which may possibly give Occasion to some to look upon that late Expedition of our Fleet to the *West-Indies*, as a War voluntarily begun by us, instead of considering that this War was first begun and

B raised

raised by the *Spaniards* themselves, as in Reality it will be found to be, and (though this Republic have done all that lay in their power to establish Peace and Commerce in those parts) hitherto kept up and carried on by them with the greatest Eagerness.

That the *Spaniards* themselves are the Occasion of this War, will evidently appear to every one who considers how, as oft as they find Opportunity, without any just Cause, and without being provoked to it by any Injury received, they are continually murdering, and sometimes even in cold Blood butchering any of our Countrymen in *America* they think fit; while in the mean time they seize upon their Goods and Fortunes, demolish their Houses and Plantations, take any of their Ships they happen to meet with in those Seas, and treat the Sailors as Enemies, nay, even as Pirates. For they give that opprobrious Name to all, except those of their own Nation, who venture to sail in those Seas. Nor do they pretend any other or better Right for so doing, than a certain ridiculous Gift of the Pope, on which they rely, and because they were the first Discoverers of some parts of that western Region: By virtue of which Name and Title, which they arrogate to themselves, they maintain that the whole Power and Government of that Western World, is lodged only in their hands. Of which very absurd Title we shall have Occasion to speak more fully when we come to consider the Causes assigned by the *Spaniards* for their thinking themselves at liberty to exercise all sorts of Hostilities against our Countrymen in *America*, to such a degree, that whoever are driven upon those Coasts by Strefs of Weather or Shipwreck, or any other Accident, are not only clapt in Chains by them as Prisoners, but are even made Slaves; while they, notwithstanding all this, are so unreasonable as to think, that

that the Peace is broken, and very much violated by the *English*; and that even in *Europe*, if they attempt any thing against them in those parts, with a View to make Reprisals, and to demand Restitution of their Goods.

But tho' the King of *Spain's* Embassadors in our Country, depending on a *Spanish* Faction which had always a very considerable Influence in the last King's Council, as well as his Father's, did not scruple to make a great many unreasonable Complaints and ridiculous Demands upon the most trivial accounts, whenever the *English* did any thing of this kind; yet those Princes, tho' too much attached to the *Spaniards*, would by no means have the Hands of their Subjects bound up, when the *Spaniards* thought they should have the free use of theirs. On the contrary, they allowed their Subjects to repel Force by Force, and to consider such of the *Spaniards* as could not be brought at any rate to keep the Peace in those parts, as Enemies. So that about the Year 1640, when this Affair was debated in the last King's Council, and when the *Spanish* Embassador desir'd that some Ships bound for *America*, lying in the Mouth of the River, and just ready to weigh Anchor, should be stopt, as being capable of doing mischief to the *Spaniards* in that part of the World; and when at the same time he refused the *English*, who asked it of him by some Members of the Council appointed for that purpose, the Privilege of trading to the *West-Indies*, it was nevertheless resolved upon, that these Ships should pursue their intended Voyage, which accordingly they did.

Thus far the foresaid Princes were not wanting to their Subjects when they made War in those places privately for their own Interest, tho' by reason of the Power of the above mention'd *Spanish* Faction they would not espouse their Cause publicly,

lickly, in the way they ought to have done, and in a manner suitable to the ancient Glory of the *English* Nation. And certainly, it would have been the most unbecoming and disgraceful thing in the World for us, who by the kind Providence of God, had in our possession so many Ships equip'd and furnish'd with every thing requisite to a War by Sea, to have suffer'd these Ships rather to have grown worm-eaten and rot at home for want of use, than to have been employ'd in avenging the Blood of the *English*, as well as that of the poor *Indians*, which in those places has been so unjustly, so cruelly, and so often shed by the Hands of the *Spaniards*: since God has made of one Blood all Nations of Men for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth, having determin'd the times before appointed, and the Bounds of their Habitation. And surely God will one time or other take Vengeance on the *Spaniards*, who have shed so much innocent Blood, who have made such terrible havoc among the poor *Indians*, slain so many thousands of them with the utmost Barbarity, done them so many Injuries, and harras'd and persecuted them in such a miserable manner, what ever time that may happen, and by whose hand soever it may be executed.

But in order to justify our Conduct, there is no need of having recourse to the common Relation that Men have to one another, which is no other than that of Brethren, whereby all great and extraordinary Wrongs done to particular Persons, ought to be considered as in a manner done to all the rest of the Human Race; since their having so often robb'd and murder'd our own Countrymen was cause sufficient of itself, for our having undertaken that late Expedition, and has given us abundant reason to avenge ourselves on that People; to pass by at present a great many other Reasons, and not to take into consideration our own Safety for

for the future, and likewise that of our Allies, especially those among them who are of the Orthodox Religion ; and to omit several other Causes, whereby we were prompted to this Expedition, of which we have no mind at present to give a particular Enumeration, since our principal Design at this time, is to declare and shew to the World, the Justice and Equity of the thing itself, and not to reckon up all the particular Causes of it. And that we may do this with the greater Perspicuity, and explain generals by particulars, we must cast our eyes back a little upon things that are past, and strictly examine all the Transactions betwixt the *English* and *Spaniards*, consider what has been the State of Affairs on both sides, so far as may respect the mutual relation of the two Kingdoms, both since the first Discovery of *America*, and since the Reformation : Which two great Events, as they happened much about the sametime, so they produced every where vast Changes and Revolutions, especially amongst the *English* and *Spaniards*, who since that time have conducted and managed their Affairs in a very different, if not quite contrary way to what they did formerly. For tho' the last King and his Father, against the Will of almost all their Subjects, patch'd up any way two Leagues with the *Spaniards* ; yet the different turns of the two Nations proceeding from the difference of their Religious Principles, and the perpetual Dissensions that were in the *West-Indies*, together with the Jealousies and Suspicions which the *Spaniards* had all along of the *English* (being always mightily afraid of losing their Treasures in *America*) have not only frustrated all the late Attempts made by this Commonwealth to obtain a Peace upon reasonable and honourable Terms, but were likewise the principal Reasons why *Philip II.* in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, broke that ancient League, that had subsisted

so long without any Violation betwixt this Nation and his Ancestors of the House of *Burgundy* and *Castile*; and having made War upon that Queen, propos'd to subdue this whole Nation: which very thing in the Year 1588 he attempted with all his Might, while in the mean time he was treating about the Establishment of a Peace; which certainly can't but be still deeply rooted in the Minds of the *English*, and will not easily be extirpated. And tho' after that, there was some kind of Peace and Commerce in *Europe* (and it was of such sort, that no *Englishman* durst profess his own Religion within any part of the *Spanish* Dominions, or have the Holy Bible in his House, or even aboard a Ship) yet in the *West-Indies* the *Spaniard* from that time has never allowed them either to enjoy Peace, or to have the privilege of Trading; contrary to what was expressly stipulated concerning both these things in that League of the Year 1542, concluded between *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, and the Emperor *Charles V.* in which, Peace, and free Commerce were expressly established between these two Princes and their People thro' every part of their respective Dominions, thro' all their Ports and Territories, without any exception of the *West-Indies*, which was then subject to that Emperor.

But as to that Article, Of a Peace to be maintain'd on the part of both Nations thro' all the Countries of the World; this is indeed plainly contained in all the Treaties of Peace that were ever betwixt them, nor is there any Exception relating to Commerce in any of these Treaties, 'till that which was made in the Year 1604, with which that in the Year 1630 does perfectly agree. In which two last Treaties it was resolv'd upon, That both Nations should have a Privilege of trading in every part of one another's Dominions, in all those Places where, before the War between *Philip II.* King of
Spain,

Spain, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, there was any Commerce, according to what was usual and customary in ancient Alliances and Treaties made before that time. These are the very individual Words of those Treaties, which do plainly leave the matter dubious and uncertain, and so King *James* was satisfy'd to make Peace with *Spain* any how, since he only renew'd the very same Treaty which had been concluded a little before the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, who charged her Deputies when it was in agitation, among other things to insist warmly on having a privilege of trading to the *West-Indies*.

But King *James*, who was mightily desirous of making Peace with the *Spaniards*, was content to leave that Clause so express'd, as both Parties might explain it in their own way, and as they judged would be most for their own Advantage; though these Words, *According to what was usual and customary in ancient Alliances and Treaties*, are so to be understood as it is reasonable they should, according to what in Justice ought to be done, and not according to what has been done on the part of the *Spaniards*, to their manifest Violation (which has afforded perpetual Matter of Complaint to the *English*, and has been an occasion of continual Quarrels betwixt the two Nations) 'tis most evident from the express Words of ancient Treaties, that the *English* had a Privilege both of Peace and Commerce, thro' all the *Spanish* Dominions.

Moreover, if the way of observing ancient Treaties and Agreements, is to be taken from their manifest Violation, the *Spaniards* have some pretence for explaining that Clause, in the last Treaties, as debarring the *English* from all manner of Commerce in these Parts. And for all that, during one half the time that interven'd betwixt the foresaid Treaty in the Year 1542, and the beginning of the War betwixt

betwixt *Philip II.* and *Elizabeth*, so far as we can judge from the Manner in which things were carried on, it would appear, that Trading in these Places was as much allowed as prohibited. But when the *Spaniards* would permit no Commerce at all, they and the *English* came from the exchange of Goods to that of Blows and Wounds ; and this not only before the War broke out betwixt *Philip* and *Elizabeth*, but likewise after a Peace was made in the Year 1604 by King *James*, and another by his Son, in 1630, and yet so as not to stop the Course of Trade thro' *Europe*. However, the King of *Spain*, after this late interruption of our Trade, has now judged that the Contests in *America* may be extended to *Europe* itself.

But we neither insist on the Interpretation of Treaties, nor the Right of Commerce by virtue of these Treaties, or on any other account, as if this Contest of ours with *Spain* were necessarily to be founded on these. This is built on the clearest and most evident Reasons in the World, as will presently appear. Nevertheless, there are some things of such a nature, that tho' it be not so necessary to found a War upon them, yet they may very justly be obstacles to the establishing of a Peace, or at least to the renewing of an Alliance, in which these things are not granted, which have either been granted in former Pactions, or may reasonably be expected. And this may serve as an Answer to that Question, Why, since we have renewed the ancient Treaties we had formerly made with all other Nations, we have not done the same with *Spain* ? And may serve to convince the World that in the Articles of Alliance, we have not, as is objected, demanded his right Eye, far less both Eyes, by our refusing to be liable to the cruel and bloody Inquisition, in those Places where we have been allowed to traffick, but have only insisted upon having
such

such a Privilege of carrying on Trade as we were not to be deprived of, either by ancient Treaties, or the Law of Nature. For tho' the King of *Spain* has assumed to himself a Power of prescribing us the Laws and Bounds of Commerce, by authority of a Law made by the Pope, whereby he discharges all Traffick with *Turks, Jews,* and other Infidels* : And tho' under this Pretence, even in time of Peace, his Ships of War, in other Places besides the *West-Indies*, have taken and plundered our Ships ; and tho' by the same Authority of the Pope and under pretence of a certain Gift he has from him, he claims the *Indians* for his Subjects, as if forsooth they also were subject unto him, who are neither under his Authority nor Protection ; yet we maintain, that neither the Pope nor the King of *Spain* is invested with any such Power, as either to rob them of their Liberty, or us of the Privilege of conversing and trading with them, which we have by the Law of Nature and Nations, but especially with those who, as we formerly observed, are not under the Power and Government of the King of *Spain*.

Another Obstacle to our renewing an Alliance with *Spain* is sufficiently manifest, and at the same time very remarkable ; which is this, that any of our Embassadors and publick Ministers who are sent into that Kingdom, either for the sake of cultivating a good Understanding, or about any other Business, betwixt the two Commonwealths, are altogether uncertain of their Lives, the King being

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* *William Stephens* of *Bristol* and some other *London* Merchants in the Years 1606 and 1607 trading with those People who live on the Coast of *Morocco* with three Vessels, some Ships belonging to the King of *Spain* that were pirating along these Coasts, having come upon them in the Bay of *Saffia* and the Harbour of *Santa Cruz*, while they were lying at Anchor, plunder'd them, without giving any other reason for their doing it than this, that the King, their Master would not allow of any Commerce with Infidels ; and the loss these Merchants sustain'd at that time, was computed at more than 2000 l.

tied down to such Opinions, as hinder him from providing for their Safety against Murderers, so as they may not be always in the most imminent Danger, whose Privileges, in order to keep up and preserve Friendship between Princes and Commonwealths, have by the Law of Nations been always considered as inviolable ; and as a thing much more sacred than those Altars of Refuge, whose Privileges built on the Authority of the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, have been hitherto applied to elude the force of Laws and Justice which we demanded should be put in execution against the Murderers of Mr. *Anthony Ascham*, who was sent by this Republick into *Spain*, to procure and establish Friendship betwixt the two Nations. For which barbarous Murder, there has never as yet been any Satisfaction made, nor Punishment inflicted on the Authors of it, nor could this ever be obtain'd, tho' it was demanded by the Parliament*, and in their Name several times urged with the greatest Warmth by the Council of State. And this has

* * This is evident from the Parliament's Letter, sign'd by the hand of the Speaker, to the King of *Spain* in the Month of *January* 1650, the Words whereof are as follow. ' We demand
' of your Majesty, and insist upon it that publick Justice be at
' length satisfied for the barbarous Murder of *Anthony Ascham*
' our Resident at your Court, and the rather, that after we have
' seen condign Punishment inflicted on the Authors of such a detestable
' Crime, we may be in no fear hereafter to send our
' Ambassador to your Royal Court to lay before you such things
' as may be equally advantageous to your Majesty and our Commonwealth. On the contrary, if we should suffer that Blood,
' the shedding whereof was a thing in many respects so remarkably horrible, to pass unrevenge'd, we must of necessity be
' Partakers in that detestable Crime in the sight of God our
' only Deliverer and the Eternal Fountain of our Mercies, and
' in the eye of the whole *English* Nation ; especially if ever we
' should send any other of our Countrymen into that Kingdom,
' where Murder is allowed to go quite unpunished. But we have
' so great an Opinion of your Majesty, that we will not easily
' be brought to believe that your Royal Authority is subjected to
' any other Power superiour to it within your own Dominions.

has been hitherto one continued Obstacle, and a very just one too, to the renewing of an Alliance betwixt the two Nations ; nay, if we consider how other Nations have frequently acted in like Cases, it may be considered as a very just Cause for a War.

But as to the Disputes that have arisen in the *West-Indies*, tho' we, both in the Continent itself, and in the Islands, have Plantations as well as they, and have as good, nay, a better Right to possess them, than the *Spaniards* have to possess theirs ; and tho' we have a Right to trade in those Seas, equally good with theirs, yet without any Reason, or any Damage sustained ; and that when there was not the least Dispute about Commerce, they have been continually invading our Colonies in a hostile way, killing our Men, taking our Ships, robbing us of our Goods, laying waste our Houses and Fields, imprisoning and enslaving our People : This they have been doing all along till these present times, wherein they have of late engaged in an Expedition against them.

For which Reason, contrary to what used to be done formerly in the like Case, they have detain'd our Ships and Merchants, and confiscated their Goods almost every where thro' the *Spanish* Dominions ; so that whether we turn our Eyes to *America* or *Europe*, they alone are undoubtedly to be considered as the Authors of the War, and the Cause of all the Inconveniences and all the Bloodshed with which it may possibly be attended.

There are a great many Instances of the most cruel and barbarous Treatment the *English* have perpetually met with from the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies* ; and that even in Time of Peace, both since the Year 1604, when the Peace was patch'd up by King *James*, till the time that the War broke out again, and since that last Peace, which was

concluded in the Year 1630, to this very Day. We shall only mention a few of them.*

After a Peace was concluded in the Year 1605, a Ship called the *Mary*, *Ambrose Birch* Commander, was trading on the North Coast of *Hispaniola*: The Master being allured with Promises of a safe and free Commerce by one Father *John* and six of his Accomplices, to go ashore to see some Goods, twelve *Spaniards* in the mean while going aboard to see the *English* Goods, while the *English* suspecting no Frauds were showing them their Wares, the Priest giving a Signal from the Shore, the *Spaniards* every Man drew his Dagger, and stabbed all the *English* that were in the Ship, except two who leap'd into the Sea, and the rest ashore were put to death with an unparallell'd Cruelty; the Master himself stript of his Cloaths, and fastened to a Tree, was exposed naked to be bit by the Flies and Vermin. And after he had continued in this miserable Case for the Space of twenty Hours, a Negro hearing his Groans came to the Place, and as he was just on the Point of expiring, stabb'd him with a Spear. This Ship with her Goods was valued at 5400 l.

Another

* As a Ship called the *Ulysses* was trading along the Coast of *Guiana*, the Merchants, and Sailors happen'd to go ashore, by the persuation of *Berry*, Governor of that Place, who had promised, nay, even sworn that they should receive no Hurt; nevertheless there were thirty of them taken and committed to Prison. Upon which the Governor writes a Letter to the Merchant, acquainting him, that he had indeed taken thirty of his Men, and that because some Foreigners who had come there to trade with them, had defrauded him of 20000 Ducats, which, if he would send him, he swore he would restore all his Men, and allow him the Liberty of Commerce. The Merchant sent him the Sum he demanded, part in ready Money, part in Goods, which, after the Governor had received, he ordered all the thirty Men to be fasten'd to Trees and strangled, except the Chirurgeon, who was reserved, to cure the Governor of a certain Disease. This Ransom together with other Damages sustained there, was computed at 7000 l.

Another Ship called the *Archer* was taken at *St. Domingo*, and all the Sailors put to death. She was reckoned worth 1300 l.

Another Ship called the *Friendship of London* with her Loading, was taken by *Lodowic Fajard*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, all her Goods confiscated, and the Merchants and Mariners thrown into the Sea, except one Boy who was reserved for a Slave. This Ship with her Loading was estimated at 1500 l.

The Sailors going ashore out of another Ship, called the *Scorn* (the *Spaniards* having solemnly sworn they would do them no Prejudice) were all nevertheless bound to Trees and strangled. The Ship with all her Goods was seiz'd, and the Merchants to whom she belonged, lost at this time 1500 l.

In the Year 1606, a Ship called the *Neptune*, was taken at *Tortuga* by the *Spanish* Guarda Costas, valued at 4300 l. *

The same Year another Ship called the *Lark* was taken by *Lodowic Fajard*, and confiscated with all her Loading, valued at 4570 l.

Another called the *Castor and Pollux* was taken by the *Spaniards* at *Florida*, by whom she was confiscated, and all her Sailors either kill'd or made Slaves; for they were never heard of afterwards.

This Vessel with her Loading was valued at 15000 l. †

In the Year 1608, a *Plymouth* Ship called the *Richard*, commanded by *Henry Challins*, fitted out at

* *John Davis* lost two Ships with all their Goods, and the *Spaniards* slew all the Men that were aboard of them, to the entire Loss of that Voyage, and this was computed at 3500 l.

† Another Ship belonging to some *London* Merchants, *John Lock* Commander, was taken by the *Spanish* Fleet, at the Isle of *Tortuga*, because she had been trading there, and had sell'd some Trees; for this she was confiscated, most of the Sailors put to death, and the rest condemned to the Gallies. This was esteemed a Loss of 5300 l.

at the Expence of Lord *Popham*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, *Ferdinand Gorges* Knight, and others, to go to *Virginia*, happening to be driven by Strefs of Weather upon the Southern part of the *Canary* Islands, in her Way from thence to the Coast of *Virginia*, she chanced to fall in with eleven *Spanish* Ships returning from *St. Domingo*, who seiz'd her ; and tho' the Captain, to rescue himself out of their Hands, produced a Royal Pass-port, yet the Ship with all her Goods was confiscated, the Captain himself barbarously used by them and sent to the Gallies. This was a Damage of more than 2500*l*.

A Ship called the *Aid*, was served much the same way by *Lodowic Fajard*, having been taken under pretence of Friendship ; she too, with her Goods was confiscated, and all the Sailors sent to the Gallies, where some were cudgell'd to death for refusing to ply the Oars. Which Vessel with her Goods, by the *Spaniards* own estimation, was worth 7000 *l*.

The same Year another Ship called the *Gallant Anne*, *William Curry* Commander, as she was trading at *Hispaniola*, was likewise confiscated with all her Goods, and all the Sailors hang'd ; each of them, by way of ridicule, having a piece of Paper sew'd to his Coat, which had these Words written upon it, *Why came ye hither ?* This Ship with her Burden was valued at 8000 *l*. These Instances do sufficiently show what kind of Peace the *Spaniards* maintain'd with us during the Reign of King *James*, who was always very much afraid of breaking the Peace with them. And we may also plainly discover the same Acts of Hostility and barbarous Treatment ever since the last Peace, which was made in the Year 1630 to this very day. For this End we will first speak a little of those Colonies that were planted by some Noblemen of this Nation, in the Isle of *Catelina*, which they call the Isle of *Providence*,

dence, and the Island of *Tortuga*, by them called the Island of *Association*. These Islands about the Year 1629, being then quite uninhabited, having neither Men nor Cattle in them, were seized by the *English*, who at that time were at war with the *Spaniards*. The Year following, when Peace was established betwixt the two Nations, the *Spaniards* having made no Exception about these Islands, King *Charles* in a Charter under the Great-Seal of *England*, declared himself Master of the Isle of *Providence* and some other Islands adjacent to it, which he thought no way inconsistent with this Peace, and gave them in possession to some Noblemen and their Heirs, and next Year he extended this Grant to the Isle of *Tortuga*.

And tho' the abovementioned Planters had got possession of these Islands by the King's Grant, and tho' this Grant was exceeding well founded, first on the Law of Nature, since neither the *Spaniards* nor any other People whatever, were in possession of these Places when they seized them; and secondly, on the Right of War, since they were taken possession of in Time of War, and were not excepted in the Articles of Peace, whence it follows from the second Article of the last Treaty, that the Title of the *Spaniards* to these Islands (even supposing they had had one) was made null by their own Consent: And tho' likewise, neither the aforesaid Company of Planters in general, nor any one of them in particular by any Action of theirs, had given any just Cause of Offence, either to the King of *Spain* or to any of his Subjects, till they had first in a violent Manner attacked our Ships and Colonies, and had slain several of the *English*, and set fire to their Houses; yet the *Spaniards* being firmly resolved to break the Peace in these Places, about the twenty-second of *January* 1632, without any the least Provocation, betwixt the Isle of *Tortuga* and the

the Cape of *Florida*, in a hostile manner fell upon a certain Ship belonging to the Company, called the *Sea-Flower*, on her return from the Isle of *Providence*, in which Engagement they slew some of the Men aboard that Ship, and wounded others.

After this about the Year 1634, the Isle of *Tortuga* was attacked by four Ships belonging to the *Spaniards*, without any Injury done on the part of the *English*, in which Attack upwards of sixty were slain, many wounded and taken Prisoners, their Houses burnt down and quite demolished, their most valuable Goods carried off by the *Spaniards*, and the *English* almost wholly driven out of that Island; of whom some were hanged, others carried to the *Havana*, and detain'd in the most abject Slavery. One *Grymes*, who had been a Gunner in *Tortuga*, was distinguished from the rest, by a Death remarkably cruel. Some of them flying for refuge to a certain desert Island called *Santa Cruz*, were again set upon by the *Spaniards*, who even pursued them thither with three Gallies in the Month of *March* 1636, of whom forty were killed, and the rest taken Prisoners, and used with the utmost Barbarity.

In the Year 1635, *July 24th*, the *Spaniards* with two great Ships and one Galley, made likewise an Attack upon the Isle of *Providence*, and they fought for several Hours, but at that time they were repulsed and forced to give over their Enterprize. However, they attempted the same thing a second time, about the Year 1640, with twelve Ships, some large, and some of a lesser Size, whereof the Admiral's Ship was called the *Armadillo* of *Cartagena*, one of the greater Gallies of the Royal Plate-Fleet, and having sent a great Number of Soldiers ashore, they were confident of making themselves Masters of the whole Island; but yet were repulsed with a great deal of Damage, and forced to retreat. Nevertheless

vertheless, having equip'd another Fleet, they returned a little after, when the Planters at variance among themselves, did not so much employ their Thoughts about what Method they should take to defend themselves, as about the Terms upon which they might most advantageously surrender; which Terms, upon their giving up the Island, they found no difficulty to obtain. But the Island was by this means wrested out of the hands both of the Planters and the Commonwealth, of whom the former sustained the loss of more than 80,000 *l.* and the latter, besides the loss of the Island, hereby received a very open and publick Affront. After the *Spaniards* had thus made themselves masters of the Isle of *Providence*, a Ship bringing some Passengers hither, who wanted to transport themselves to this place from *New-England*, the *Spaniards* by stratagem having found means to get her brought within Gun-shot (the People in the Ship knowing nothing of their late Conquest of that Island) she was in great danger of being taken, and with very much difficulty rescued herself; the Master of the Ship, a very honest and worthy Man, was killed by a Bullet-shot from the Island.

Nor were the *Spaniards* content to confine the Acts of Hostility which they have exercised upon the People of that Colony within the Boundaries of *America*, but have also treated them in the same hostile manner in *Europe*. For in the Year 1638, December 25, a Ship belonging to that same Company called the *Providence*, *Thomas Newman* Commander, two Leagues from *Dengeness* on the very Coast of *England*, was assaulted and taken by *Sprengfeld* Captain of a Privateer belonging to *Dunkirk*, to which place this Ship was brought, and her Cargo detain'd, which even by the computation of many Persons in that place, was reckon'd to amount to the Sum of 30,000 *l.* As for the Sailors,

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some

some were slain, some wounded, and the rest after having been treated with the greatest Inhumanity in their own Ship, were hurried away to *Dunkirk*, where they met with much the same Usage, till they found some way to make their escape; and tho' the Owners demanded Satisfaction in the most earnest manner, and the last King by his Resident Mr. *Balthasar Gerber*, and both by Letters written with his own hand, and the hand of Secretary *Coke*, asked reparation on their behalf; yet they could neither procure the Restitution of their Goods, nor the least Compensation for these Losses.

But there are other Examples of the *Spanish* Cruelty, which are of a later date, and still more shocking; such as that of their coming from *Porto-rico* and attacking *Santa Cruz* about the Year 1651, an Island that was not formerly inhabited, but at that time possessed by an *English* Colony govern'd by *Nicol. Philips*, who with about an hundred more of the Colony, was barbarously murdered by the hands of the *Spaniards*, who besides this, attack'd the Ships in the Harbour, plundered their Houses and raz'd them from the very Foundation; and when they could find no more to sacrifice to their Fury (the rest of the Inhabitants having fled to the Woods) returning to *Porto-rico*, they gave the miserable remnant, who were well nigh famish'd, time to remove from *Santa Cruz*, and to betake themselves to some other neighbouring Islands. But a little time thereafter, they returned in quest and pursuit of those who sculk'd in the Woods; but they had the good fortune to find a way of making their escape, and stealing away privately to other Islands.

In the same Year 1631, a Ship belonging to *John Turner* being driven into the Harbour of *Cumana-gola* by tempestuous Winds, was seiz'd by the Governour

vernour of that place, and confiscated with all her Lading.

The same was done to Captain *Cranley's* Ship and her Goods *.

And in the Year 1650, a certain Vessel pertaining to *Samuel Wilson*, loaden with Horses, was taken on the High-Seas in her Way to *Barbadoes*, and carried to the *Havana*. Both the Ship and her Goods were confiscated, most of the Sailors imprisoned, and like Slaves oblig'd to work at the Fortifications.

The same Hardships were endured by the Sailors aboard a certain Ship of *Barnstable* about two Years since, which in her Return from some of our Plantations in the *Carribee* Islands, springing a Leak hard by *Hispaniola*, the Sailors to save themselves, being oblig'd to get into the long Boat, got ashore, where they were all made Slaves, and oblig'd to work at the Fortifications.

By these, and many more Examples of the same kind too long to be reckon'd up, 'tis abundantly evident, the King of *Spain* and his Subjects think they are no way bound by any Condition of Peace to be perform'd to us on their part in these places, since they have habitually exercis'd all sorts of Hostilities against us, nay have even done such things as are more insufferable, and more grievous than open Acts of Hostility; and since that Cruelty with which they usually treat the *English* in *America*, is so contrary to the Articles of Peace, that it does not so much as seem suitable to the Laws of the most bloody War: However, in that Embargo of the King of *Spain*, by which he orders our Merchant-Ships and their Goods to be seiz'd and confiscated, the whole blame is laid upon the *English*, whom he brands with the odious Names of Treaty-

D 2

Breakers

* And also to one belonging to *John Bland*, commanded by *Nicol. Philips*, in the very same Harbour.

Breakers and Violators of the most sacred Peace, and likewise of free Commerce, which he pretends to have so religiously maintain'd on his part, and gives out that we have violated the Laws of Peace and Commerce with such strange and profess'd Hostility, that we attempted to besiege the Town of *St. Domingo* in the Isle of *Hispaniola*. Which is the only Cause he offers, why the Goods of the *English* are confiscated in *Spain*, and the trading People confin'd; tho' this is likewise aggravated by his boasted Humanity; for he maintains that he in the most friendly way receiv'd our Fleets into his Harbours*, where it could be of any advantage for them to enter, and that his Ministers did not at all require of us a strict Observance of the Articles of Peace, that were agreed to by the two Crowns, which forbid both Parties to enter a Harbour with more than 6 or 8 Ships of War.

But as he by talking in this strain, acquits our Fleets of all Trespases and Violations of Treaty in these Harbours, since if any such thing as is objected, has been done and pass'd over, it has been done by the allowance of himself and his Ministers; and as it is exceeding manifest, that he has not been so favourable for nought, if he will but reflect with himself what vast Profits he has receiv'd from our Fleets, so on the other hand, that King and his Ministers have not at all in fact observ'd the Agreements he speaks of, in the 23d Article of which, the following provision is made in the most express terms; ' That if any Differences should happen to
arise

* But *Sawanley* our Admiral, was not so civilly treated in *Sicily*, in the Harbour of *Drepano*, when in the Year 1653, about the Month of *June*, his Ship called the *Henry Bonaventure*, together with a large and very rich *Dutch* Ship call'd the *Peter*, which he had taken, was by the treachery of the *Spanish* Governor in that Place, taken by seven *Dutch* Ships, under the Command of the younger *Trump* in the very Harbour, no further than a small Gun's-shot from the Bulwarks, whereby the Merchants to whom that Ship belong'd, lost more than 63,000 *l*.

‘ arise betwixt the two Commonwealths, the Subjects on both sides should be advertised, that they should have six Months from the time of the Advertisement to transport their Effects, during which time, there should be no arrest, interrupting or damaging of any man’s Person or Goods.’

In which Affair, that King truly has shown but very little regard to those Contracts, which he charges us with having broken, as appears from that late Confiscation of our Goods. But what he declares in that Edict concerning the Acts of Hostility committed in the *West-Indies*, their being to be considered as a Violation of Peace and free Commerce in these parts, is a new and quite different Explanation from what has ever been propounded hitherto by either of the two Republicks, tho’ both Parties have frequently had Occasions to declare their Judgment (about) this matter.

But seeing the King of *Spain* has declar’d both by Word and Deed, that the Articles of Peace ought to be thus understood, it follows, that by so many Acts of Hostility committed against the *English* in these parts, and which first began on his side, and have been continued from the very time of the last concluded Treaty, as was formerly observed, to this very day; hence I say it follows, that he seems to be convinc’d, that the sacred bonds of Friendship have been first broken on his side. Which thing is so clear and manifest, that our Adversaries themselves in this Controversy, are asham’d to deny the Fact, and chuse rather to dispute with us concerning the Right of Possession; which must be in the following manner: As the King of *Spain*, among his other Titles, has assum’d that of King of the *Indies*, so they affirm, that the whole *Indies* and *Indian Sea*, both *South* and *North*, belong to him, and that they are all Enemies and Pyrates, who approach these places without his Commission.

Which

Which if it were true, both we and all other Nations ought to leave and restore to him all our Possessions there, and having brought back whatever Colonies we have sent thither, should beg his pardon for the Injury we have done him; but if we consider a little more narrowly the Truth and Reasonableness of this Title, we shall find that it is built upon a very slender and weak foundation, to have such a vast Pile of War and Contentions erected upon it, as the present is likely to be. They pretend to have a double Title, one founded upon the Pope's Gift, and another upon their having first discover'd those Places. As to the first, we know the Pope has been always very liberal in his Gifts of Kingdoms and Countries, but in the mean time we can't but think, that in so doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whose Vicar he professes himself, who would not so much as allow himself to be appointed a Judge in the dividing of Inheritances, far less give any one whole Kingdoms at his pleasure, like the Pope, who has thought fit to make a Present of *England, Ireland*, and some other Kingdoms.

But we deny his being invested with any such Authority, nor do we think there is any Nation so void of Understanding, as to think that so great Power is lodged in him, or that the *Spaniards* would believe this or acquiesce in it, if he should require them to yield up as much as he has bestow'd. But if the *French* and others who acknowledge the Pope's Authority in ecclesiastical matters, have no regard to this Title of the *Spaniards*, it can't be expected we should think of it any otherwise. And so we leave this point, as not deserving a fuller Answer.

Nor is the other Title of any greater weight, as if the *Spaniards* in consequence of their having first discovered some few parts of *America*, and given names

Names to some Islands, Rivers and Promontories, had for this Reason lawfully acquir'd the Government and Dominion of that New World. But such an imaginary Title founded on such a silly Pretence, without being in Possession, can't possibly create any true and lawful Right. The best Right of Possession in *America*, is that which is founded on one's having planted Colonies there, and settled in such Places as had either no Inhabitants, or by the Consent of the Inhabitants, if there were any ; or at least, in some of the wild and uncultivated Places of their Country, which they were not numerous enough to replenish and improve ; since God has created this Earth for the use of Men, and order'd them to replenish it throughout.

If this be true, as the *Spaniards* will be found to hold their Possessions there very unjustly, having purchased all of them against the Will of the Inhabitants, and as it were pluck'd them out of their very Bowels, having laid the Foundations of their Empire in that Place, in the Blood of the poor Natives, and rendered several large Islands and Countries, that were in a tolerable Case when they found them, so many barren Desarts, and rooted out all the Inhabitants there ; so the *English* hold their Possessions there by the best Right imaginable, especially those Islands where the *Spaniards* have fallen upon their Colonies, and quite demolished them ; which Islands had no other Inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all slain by the *Spaniards*, who had likewise deserted these Places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them : So that by the Law of Nature and Nations they belong to any who think fit to take Possession of them, according to that common and well-known Maxim in Law, " Such Things
" as belong to none, and such as are abandoned
" by

“ by their former Possessors, become his Property
 “ who first seizes them.” Altho’, granting we had
 beat the *Spaniards* out of those places where we
 have planted our Colonies, out of which they had
 at first expell’d the Inhabitants, we should have pos-
 sess’d them with better Right, as the Avengers of
 the Murder of that People, and of the Injuries sus-
 tain’d by them, than the *Spaniards*, their Oppressors
 and Murderers. But since we have settled our Co-
 lonies in such places as were neither possess’d by
 the Natives nor the *Spaniards*, they having left behind
 them neither Houses nor Cattle, nor any other thing
 that could by any means keep up the Right of Pos-
 session, the Justness of our Title to these Places
 was so much the more evident, and the Injuries done
 us by the *Spaniards* so much the more manifest, e-
 specially our Right to those Places that were seiz’d
 while the two Nations were at War with each other,
 such as the Isles of *Providence* and *Tortuga*, which
 if the *Spaniards* could have shown to be theirs, by
 any former Title which they have not yet produc’d,
 yet since they have not done it in the last Treaty of
 Peace, by the second Article of this Treaty, they have
 for the future cut themselves off from all such Pre-
 tence, and if they had any Right, have now lost it. It is
 unnecessary to talk any further upon this Argument.

There is no intelligent Person but will easily see
 how empty and weak those Reasons are, that the
Spaniard has for claiming to himself alone an
 Empire of such a vast and prodigious extent. But
 we have said this much, in order to shew the Weak-
 ness of those Pretences, whereby the *Spaniards* en-
 deavour to justify themselves for having treated us
 with so much Cruelty and Barbarity in the *West-*
Indies, for having enslav’d, hang’d, drown’d, tor-
 tur’d and put to death our Countrymen, robb’d them
 of their Ships and Goods, and demolish’d our Co-
 lonies even in the time of profound Peace, and that
 without

without any Injury received on their part ; which cruel Usage and Havock, made among our People, and such as were of the same Orthodox Faith with them, as oft as the *English* call to remembrance, they can't miss to think that their former Glory is quite gone, and their Ships of War become entirely useless, if they suffer themselves to be any longer treated in such a disgraceful manner : and moreover, to be not only excluded from all free Commerce in so great and opulent a part of the World, but likewise to be looked upon as Pirates and Robbers, and punished in the same Manner as they, if they presume to sail those Seas, or so much as look that way ; or, in fine, have any Intercourse or Dealing even with our own Colonies that are settled there.

Concerning the bloody *Spanish* Inquisition, we shall say nothing, this being a Controversy common to all Protestants, nor shall we speak of the many Seminaries of *English* Priests and Jesuits nestling under the Protection of the *Spaniards*, which is a perpetual Cause of stumbling, and very great danger to this Commonwealth ; since what we principally propose, is, to shew the Grounds and Reasons of the Controversies in the *West-Indies*, and we are confident we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that Necessity, Honour and Justice have prompted us to undertake this late Expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by Necessity ; it being absolutely necessary to go to War with the *Spaniards*, since they will not allow us to be at Peace with them : and then Honour and Justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such insufferable Injuries to be done our

Countrymen, as those we have shown to have been done them in the *West-Indies*.

And truly they see but a very little way, who form their Notion of the Designs and Intentions of the *Spaniards*, according to that friendly Aspect with which the present Declension of their Affairs has oblig'd them to look upon us in these parts of the World, (that Face which they have put on, being only a false one) for 'tis certain they have the same Mind, and the very same Desires, which they had in the Year 1588, when they endeavour'd to subdue this whole Island; nay, 'tis certain their Hatred is more inflamed, and their Jealousies and Suspicions more increased by this Change of the State of our Affairs, and of the Form of our Republic. But if we omit this Opportunity, which by reason of some things that have lately happen'd, may perhaps give us an Occasion to fall upon some way, whereby, thro' the Assistance of God, we may provide for our Safety, against this old and implacable Enemy of our Religion and Country; it may happen, he will recover such a Degree of Strength, as will render him as formidable and hard to be endured as before. One thing is certain, he always will, and can't but have the greatest Indignation against us. Mean while, if we suffer such grievous Injuries to be done our Countrymen in the *West-Indies*, without any Satisfaction or Revenge; if we suffer our selves to be wholly excluded from that so considerable a part of the World; if we suffer our malicious and inveterate Enemy (especially now, after he has made Peace with the *Dutch*) to carry off without Molestation, from the *West-Indies*, those prodigious Treasures, whereby he may repair his present Damages,

images, and again bring his Affairs to such a prosperous and happy Condition, as to deliberate with himself a second time, what he was thinking upon in the Year 1588; namely, whether it would be more adviseable to begin with subduing *England*, in order to recover the United Provinces, or with them, in order to reduce *England* under his Subjection; without doubt he will not find fewer, but more Clauses why he should begin with *England*. And if God should at any time permit those Intentions of his to have their desired Effect, we have good ground to expect, that the Residue of that cruel Havock he made among our Brethren at the foot of the *Alps*, will be first exercised upon us, and after that upon all Protestants; which, if we may give Credit to the Complaints that were made by those poor Orthodox Christians, was first design'd and contriv'd in the Court of *Spain*, by those Friars whom they call Missionaries.

All these things being considered, we hope the time will come, when all, but especially true *Englishmen*, will lay aside their private Animosities among themselves, and renounce their own proper Advantages, than thro' an excessive desire of that small Profit to be made by trading to *Spain*, which cannot be obtained but upon such Conditions as are dishonourable and in some sort unlawful; and which may likewise be got some other way; than exposing, as they now do, to the utmost Danger, the Souls of many young Traders, by those Terms upon which they now live and trade there; and suffer the Lives and Fortunes of many Christian Brethren in *America*, and in fine, the Honour of this whole Nation, to be exposed, and what of all is the most

momentous and important, let slip out of their Hands the most noble Opportunities of promoting the Glory of God, and enlarging the Bounds of Christ's Kingdom: which we do not doubt, will appear to be the chief End of our late, Expedition into the *West-Indies* against the *Spaniards*, to all who are free of those Prejudices which hinder People from clearly discerning the Truth.

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BRITANNIA

A

P O E M.

Written in the Year 1727.

— *Et tantas audetis tollere Moles ?*
Quos Ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.
Post mihi non simili Pæna commissa luetis.
Maturate fugam, Regique hæc dicite vestro ;
Non illi Imperium Pelagi, Sævumque Tridentem,
Sed mihi sorte datum. —

VIRG.

AS on the sea-beat shore *Britannia* sat,
 Of her degenerate sons the faded fame,
 Deep in her anxious heart, revolving sad :
 Bare was her throbbing bosom to the gale,
 That hoarse, and hollow, from the bleak surge blew ;
 Loose flow'd her tresses ; rent her azure robe. 6
 Hung o'er the deep from her majestic brow
 She tore the laurel, and she tore the bay.
 Nor ceas'd the copious grief to bathe her cheek ;
 Nor ceas'd her sobs to murmur to the Main. 10
 Peace discontented nigh, departing, stretch'd
 Her dove-like wings. And War, tho' greatly rous'd,
 Yet mourn'd his fetter'd hands. While thus the Queen
 Of nations spoke ; and what she said the Muse
 Recorded, faithful, in unbidden verse. 15
 Even

Even not yon sail, that, from the sky-mixt wave,
 Dawns on the sight, and wafts the *ROYAL YOUTH*,
 A freight of future glory to my shore ;
 Even not the flattering view of golden days,
 And rising periods yet of bright renown, 20
 Beneath the *P A R E N T S*, and their endless Line
 Thro' late revolving time, can sooth my rage ;
 While, unchastis'd, th' insulting *Spaniard* dares
 Infest the trading flood, full of vain War
 Despise my Navies, and my Merchants seize ; 25
 As, trusting to false peace, they fearless roam
 The world of waters wild, made, by the toil,
 And liberal blood of glorious ages, mine :
 Nor bursts my sleeping thunder on their head.
 Whence this unwonted patience ? this weak doubt ?
 This tame beseeching of rejected peace ? 31
 This meek forbearance ? this unnative fear,
 To generous *Britons* never known before ?
 And sail'd my Fleets for this on *Indian* tides
 To float, unactive, with the veering winds ? 35
 The mockery of war ! while hot disease,
 And sloth distemper'd, swept off burning crouds,
 For action ardent ; and amid the deep,
 Inglorious, sunk them in a watry grave,
 There now they lie beneath the rowling flood, 40
 Far from their friends, and country unaveng'd ;
 And back the weeping war-ship comes again,
 Dispirited, and thin ; her sons asham'd
 Thus idly to review their native shore ;
 With not one glory sparkling in their eye 45
 One triumph on their tongue. A passenger,
 The violated Merchant comes along ;
 That

That far-sought wealth, for which the noxious gale
 He drew, and sweat beneath Equator Suns,
 By lawless force detain'd ; a force that soon 50
 Would melt away, and every spoil resign,
 Were once the *British* Lion heard to roar.
 Whence is it that the proud *Iberian* thus,
 In their own well-asserted element,
 Dares rouse to wrath the Masters of the Main? 55
 Who told him, that the big incumbent war
 Would not, ere this, have roll'd his trembling ports
 In smoaky ruin? and his guilty stores,
 Won by the ravage of a butcher'd world,
 Yet unatton'd, sunk in the swallowing deep, 60
 Or led the glittering prize into the *Thames*?

There was a time (Oh let my languid sons
 Resume the spirit at the rousing thought!)
 When all the Pride of *Spain*, in one dread Fleet,
 Swell'd o'er the labouring surge; like a whole heaven
 Of clouds, wide-roll'd before the boundless breeze.
 Gaily the splendid Armament along 67
 Exultant plough'd, reflecting a red gleam,
 As sunk the sun, o'er all the flaming vast;
 Tall, gorgeous, and elate; drunk with the dream
 Of easy conquest; while their bloated war, 71
 Stretch'd out from sky to sky, the gather'd force
 Of ages held in its capacious womb.
 But soon, regardless of the cumbrous pomp,
 My dauntless *Britons* came, a gloomy few, 75
 With tempest black, the goodly scene deform'd,
 And laid their Glory waste. The bolts of Fate
 Resistless thunder'd thro' their yielding sides;
 Fierce o'er their beauty blaz'd the lurid flame;

And

And seiz'd in horrid grasp, or shatter'd wide, 80
 Amid the mighty waters, deep they sunk.
 Then too from every promontory chill,
 Rank fen, and cavern where the wild wave works,
 I swept confederate winds, and swell'd a storm.
 Round the glad isle, snatch'd by the vengeful blast,
 The scatter'd remnants drove; on the blind shelve,
 And pointed rock, that marks th' indented shore,
 Relentless dash'd, where loud the Northern Main
 Howls thro' the fractur'd *Caledonian* isles.

Such were the dawnings of my liquid reign; 90
 But since how vast it grew, how absolute,
 Even in those troubled times, when dreadful *Blake*
 Aw'd angry Nations with the *British* Name,
 Let every humbled state, let *Europe* say,
 Sustain'd, and ballanc'd, by my naval arm. 95
 Ah what must these immortal Spirits think
 Of your poor shifts? These, for their country's good,
 Who fac'd the blackest danger, knew no fear,
 No mean submission, but commanded peace.
 Ah how with indignation must they burn? 100
 (If aught, but joy, can touch th' ethereal breasts)
 With shame? with grief? to see their feeble Sons
 Shrink from that empire o'er the conquer'd seas,
 For which their wisdom plan'd, their councils glow'd,
 And their veins bled thro' many a toiling age. 105

Oh first of human blessings! and supreme!
 Fair *Peace*! how lovely, how delightful thou!
 By whose wide tie, the kindred sons of men,
 Like brothers live, in amity combin'd,
 And unsuspecting faith; while honest toil 110
 Gives every joy, and to those joys a right,

Which

Which idle, barbarous Rapine but usurps.
 Pure is the Reign ; when, unaccurs'd by blood,
 Nought, save the sweetness of indulgent showers,
 Trickling distils, into the vernal glebe ; 115
 Instead of mangled carcases, sad-seen,
 When the blythe sheaves lie scatter'd o'er the field ;
 When only shining shares, the crooked knife,
 And hooks imprint the vegetable wound ;
 When the land blushes with the rose alone, 120
 The falling fruitage, and the bleeding vine.
 Oh, *Peace* ! thou source and soul of social life ;
 Beneath whose calm inspiring influence,
 Science his views enlarges, Art refines,
 And swelling Commerce opens all her ports ; 125
 Blest be the Man divine, who gives us Thee !
 Who bids the trumpet hush his horrid clang,
 Nor blow the giddy nations into rage ;
 Who sheaths the murderous blade ; the deadly gun
 Into the well-pile'd armory returns ; 130
 And every vigour from the work of death,
 To grateful Industry converting, makes
 The country flourish, and the city smile.
 Unviolated, him the virgin sings ;
 And him the smiling mother to her train. 135
 Of him the shepherd, in the peaceful dale,
 Chaunts ; and the treasures of his labour sure,
 The husbandman of him, as at the plough,
 Or team, he toils. With him the sailor sooths,
 Beneath the trembling moon, the midnight wave ;
 And the full city, warm from street to street, 141
 And shop to shop, responsive, rings of him.
 Nor joys one land alone ; his praise extends

Far as the sun rolls the diffusive day ;
 Far as the breeze can bear the gifts of peace, 145
 Till all the happy Nations catch the song.

What would not, *Peace!* the Patriot bear for thee?
 What painful patience? What incessant care?
 What mixt anxiety? what sleepless toil?
 Even from the rash protected what reproach? 150
 For he thy value knows; thy friendship he
 To human nature: but the better thou,
 The richer of delight, sometimes the more
 Inevitable *War*, when ruffian force
 Awakes the fury of an injur'd state. 155
 Then the good easy man, whom reason rules;
 Who, while unhurt, knew nor offence nor harm,
 Rouz'd by bold insult, and injurious rage,
 With sharp and sudden check, th' astonish'd sons
 Of violence confounds; firm as his cause, 160
 His bolder heart; in awful justice clad;
 His eyes effulging a peculiar fire:
 And, as he charges thro' the prostrate war,
 His keen arm teaches faithless men, no more
 To dare the sacred vengeance of the just. [more,

And what, my thoughtless sons, should fire you
 Than when your well-earn'd empire of the deep
 The least beginning injury receives?
 What better cause can call your lightning forth?
 Your thunder wake? your dearest life demand?
 What better cause, than when your country sees
 The fly destruction at her vitals aim'd? 172
 For oh it much imports you, 'tis your all,
 To keep your Trade intire, intire the force,
 And honour of your Fleets; o'er these to watch,
 Even

Even with a hand severe, and jealous eye. 176
 In intercourse be gentle, generous, just,
 By wisdom polish'd, and of manners fair;
 But on the sea be terrible, untam'd,
 Unconquerable still: let none escape,
 Who shall but aim to touch your glory there.
 Is there the man, into the lion's den
 Who dares intrude to snatch his young away?
 And is a *Briton* seiz'd? and seiz'd beneath
 The flumbring terrors of a *British* Fleet? 185
 Then ardent rise! Oh great in vengeance rise;
 O'erturn the proud, teach rapine to restore:
 And as you ride sublimely round the world,
 Make every vessel stoop, make every state
 At once their welfare and their duty know. 190
 This is your glory; this your wisdom; this
 The native power for which you were design'd
 By fate, when fate design'd the firmest state,
 That e'er was seated on the subject sea;
 A state alone, where *Liberty* should live, 195
 In these late times, this evening of mankind,
 When *Athens*, *Rome*, and *Carthage* are no more,
 The world almost in slavish sloth dissolv'd.
 For this, these rocks around your coast were thrown;
 For this, your oaks, peculiar harden'd, shoot 200
 Strong into sturdy growth; for this, your hearts
 Swell with a fullen courage, growing still
 As danger grows; and strength, and toil for this
 Are liberal pour'd o'er all the fervent land.
 Then cherish this, this unexpensive power, 205
 Undangerous to the Publick ever prompt,
 By lavish Nature thrust into your hand:

And,

And, unencumber'd with the bulk immense
 Of conquest, whence huge empires rose and fell,
 Self-crush'd, extend your reign from shore to shore,
 Where-e'er the wind your high behests can blow,
 And fix it deep on this eternal base.
 For should the sliding fabrick once give way,
 Soon slacken'd quite, and past recovery broke,
 It gathers ruin as it rolls along,
 Steep-rushing down to that devouring gulph,
 Where many a mighty empire buried lies.
 And should the big redundant flood of Trade,
 In which ten thousand thousand Labours join
 Their several currents, till the boundless tide
 Rolls in a radiant deluge o'er the land,
 Should this bright stream, the least inflected, point
 Its course another way, o'er other lands
 The various treasure would resistless pour,
 Ne'er to be won again ; its antient tract
 Left a vile channel, desolate, and dead,
 With all around a miserable waste.
 Not *Egypt*, were, her better heaven, the *Nile*
 Turn'd in the pride of flow ; when o'er his rocks,
 And roaring cataracts beyond the reach
 Of dizzy vision pile'd, in one wide flash
 An *Ethiopian* deluge foams amain ;
 (Whence wond'ring fable trac'd him from the sky)
 Even not that prime of earth, where harvests croud
 On untill'd harvests, all the teeming year,
 If of the fat o'erflowing culture robb'd,
 Were then a more uncomfortable wild,
 Steril, and void ; than of her trade depriv'd,
Britons, your boasted isle : her Princes sunk ;

Her

Her high-built honour moulder'd to the dust ; 240
 Unnerv'd her force ; her spirit vanish'd quite ;
 With rapid wing her riches fled away ;
 Her unfrequented Ports alone the sign
 Of what she was ; her Merchants scatter'd wide ;
 Her hollow shops shut up ; and in her streets, 245
 Her fields, woods, markets, villages, and roads,
 The cheerful voice of labour heard no more.

O let not then waste Luxury impair
 That manly soul of toil, which strings your nerves,
 And your own proper happiness creates ! 250
 Oh let not the soft, penetrating plague
 Creep on the free-born mind ! and working there,
 With the sharp tooth of many a new-form'd want,
 Endless, and idle all, eat out the heart
 Of *Liberty* ; the high conception blast ; 255
 The noble sentiment, the impatient scorn
 Of base subjection, and the swelling wish
 For general good, erasing from the mind :
 While nought save narrow Selfishness succeeds,
 And low design, the sneaking passions all 260
 Let loose, and reigning in the rankled breast.
 Induc'd at last, by scarce-perceiv'd degrees,
 Sapping the very frame of government,
 And life, a total dissolution comes ;
 Sloth, ignorance, dejection, flattery, fear, 265
 Oppression raging o'er the waste he makes ;
 The human Being almost quite extinct ;
 And the whole state in broad Corruption sinks.
 Oh shun that gulph, that gaping ruin shun !
 And countless ages roll it far away 270
 From you, ye heaven-belov'd ! may *Liberty*,

The

The light of life ! the fun of human kind !
 Whence Heroes, Bards, and Patriots borrow flame,
 Even where the keen depressive North descends,
 Still spread, exalt, and actuate your powers ! 275
 While slavish Southern climates beam in vain,
 And may a publick Spirit from the Throne,
 Where every Virtue sits, go copious forth
 Wide o'er the land ! the finer Arts inspire,
 Make thoughtful Science raise his pensive head,
 Blow the fresh Bays, bid Industry rejoice,
 And the rough Sons of lowest Labour smile.
 As when, profuse of Spring, the loosen'd West
 Lifts up the pining year, and balmy breathes 284
 Youth, life, and love, and beauty o'er the world.

But haste we from these melancholy shores,
 Nor to deaf winds, and waves, our fruitless plaint
 Pour weak, the country claims our active aid,
 That let us roam ; and where we find a spark
 Of publick virtue, blow it into flame,
 And now my sons, the sons of freedom ! meet
 In awful senate ; thither let us fly ;
 Burn in the Patriot's thought, flow from his tongue
 In fearless truth ; my self, transform'd, preside,
 And shed the spirit of *Britannia* round. 295

This said ; her fleeting form, and airy train,
 Sunk in the gale ; and nought but ragged rocks
 Rush'd on the broken eye ; and nought was heard
 But the rough cadence of the dashing wave. 299

The End.